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STATE OF THE UNION.

Speech of Hon. J. Morrison Harris,

OF MARYLAND,

Delivered in the House of Representatives, January 29, 1861.

The House having under consideration the report from the select committee of thirty-three—

Mr. HARRIS, of Maryland, said:

Mr. SPEAKER: When the future historian comes to write out the annals of our times, he will be amazed at the magnitude of the events that are now transpiring, and the comparative insufficiency of the causes which gave them birth. He will contemplate a nation stretching over more than half a continent, rich with all the varieties of climate, infinite in the extent of its diversified resources, and signalized by the march of a development unequaled in the history of the world. He will see that, in less than a century, the weak dependencies of the British Crown have swelled into the colossal proportions of multiplied sovereignties, and that through the fiery baptism of successful war, and enriched by the guerdons of honorable peace, the nation has attained a position of substantial greatness that eclipses the proudest empires of antiquity, and rivals the most splendid nationalities of the present time. Great will be his amazement when he sees—at the moment the nation has reached so eminent a point in her career; when in the full maturity of her powers, and the undisturbed enjoyment of her wonderful resources, the ships of her adventurous commerce are sweeping over every ocean, and her arts, her sciences, and her civilization, are putting her in the vanguard of the nations, and when an emulous world is beginning to regard her as a fixed and stable illustration of the capacity of man for perfect freedom—the whole Government suddenly disintegrate and fall to pieces like some house of cards built for the toying of a child; and, sir, when, with earnest solicitude and deep curiosity, he seeks to discover the grave causes which have led to so disastrous a result, and finds that they have all sprung from the empty rivalries of political parties and the inability of our boasted statesmanship to solve the problem of the *status* of a Territory as to slavery or freedom, the verdict of impartial history will be, that the discovered causes afforded no reason for the secession of a single State, none whatever for the disruption of the American Union. [Applause.] Greater than all else will be his amazement at the fact that, amid the thunderous tread of the earthquake that was shaking down the very pillars of the Republic, the representatives of the people sat in the quietude of an insane indifference, and that thirty million American freemen failed to vindicate themselves by giving practical illustration to the verity of the maxim, that “the voice of the people is the voice of God.” [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, we are living in the very midst of these great enactments; we are, in this House of Congress, the body of men upon whom the peculiar circumstances of the times have devolved the great responsibility of either settling the difficulties which are rending the country, or of giving additional impulse to the storm which is now sweeping it into ruin. I was no little surprised when the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. ETHERIDGE] the other day suggested to this House the idea of its irresponsibility

under these circumstances, and its inability to do anything to heal the troubles of the times. I differ with him wholly. I say that the verdict of posterity will be—ay, sir, I believe the prompt and nearer verdict of this American people, when it is fully aroused to the extent of its danger and the negligence hitherto of its Representatives, will be—that the grave responsibility of national salvation or national perdition rests upon you, the Representatives of that people, now in Congress assembled.

So far, sir, as the views I shall present of this question are concerned, I desire it to be understood that I address you individually and collectively, as men who hold in your hands, very largely, if not entirely, the safety or the ruin of my country.

Mr. Speaker, I do not propose to discuss, before gentlemen who so fully understand them, the past events of our history as between this or that political party, that I may clearly point out to them who first began the agitation of the great questions which have brought the country into these perils. Sir, I think it idle, and worse than idle, for us, at such a time, to be talking in the face of the people about the origin of these evils, and upon whom the responsibility for them rests. What matters it to me to-day, whether it was the lust of power and the unscrupulous ambition of the old Democratic party, that induced it to stir up this agitation of the slavery question, that it might catch the popular ear, win the popular vote, gain the control of the politics, and wield the power of the country? What matters it to me that the Republican party, planting itself upon the issues they presented, and availing itself of all the various exciting questions which have arisen, has swelled into the magnitude of its present strength and powerful position? What matters it, I say, to me, whether it is the sin of the Democratic party, or the sin of the Republican party? The great question is, not upon whom the responsibility originally rested, but upon whom the more terrible responsibility of the future shall rest. And that will fall assuredly, and with crushing weight, upon that party, or that set of men in this country, who do not rise now above the paltriness of mere party trammels and prejudices, and prove themselves equal to the great question of whether and how this nation shall be saved.

Why, Mr. Speaker, gentlemen rise in their places here, and with the coolness with which men meet some recondite investigation, and which, under other circumstances, would do them credit, go into all the details of the rise and progress of all these political issues tending to our present condition; and speculate with a nicety of philosophical inquiry, and a force of logical deduction, as to how much responsibility rests upon their party, and how much must be visited upon the opposite party, as if they held the perils of their country unworthy to be remembered. As well might the traveller upon some Alpine pass, when he hears the premonitory crash of the coming avalanche, pause upon the narrow ledge that hangs over the abyss, and speculate philosophically upon the causes in nature which have started the ponderous mass from its resting place of ages, as for the American people, or their Representatives, to stop in this rush of affairs to go into this nice inquisition of causes, when ruin is imminent upon people and Representatives alike.

Sir, I represent a people in such near and dangerous connection with the great troubles of the day, that I cannot afford to deal in generalities; but I feel imperatively called upon to address myself, with whatever of earnestness of appeal I may command, to the question which alone they consider important. I say, sir, that the responsibility of the decision of this whole grave matter rests upon this Congress in the first degree, and with great and appropriate weight. It rests upon the members of this House, irrespective of party, from the southern portion of the Confederacy to which I belong, and it behooves them when they appeal to the northern men to do what is just under the cir-

cumstances which environ us, to do what is right and reasonable to themselves. If I desired to sum up these matters, I would have no desire to lift from the shoulders of the men of my own section who, in my humble judgment, have done great mischief to the cause of American liberty and to the stability of free institutions—I say I should have no desire to lift from their shoulders whatever of responsibility properly rests upon them. Sir, as a southern man I am frank to admit, in the face of the country, that far too much of this mischief has come upon us because of the over-anxious desire of ambitious politicians of the South to create a new political sphere in which they could rise to greater eminence than they could aspire to under the present system; that much of the trouble now rending the country has sprung from the unholy passions and the wild ambition of southern politicians; and that far too much of the aggravation which has aroused the spirit of resistance in the North, and fed, as fuel, the flame which is mounting up there, of sectional agitation and prejudice, has been ministered to by some of my own fellow-citizens of the South.

But, sir, while I make that admission, I would appeal to the frankness of northern gentlemen upon the other hand, and challenge them to deny that far too much of substantial reason has been given to the South by the people they represent, if not by some of themselves, in their individual and representative capacity; that far too many reasonable grounds of complaint have been afforded to that spirit in the South, which they knew stood ready to seize with avidity the slightest offering to the passion it desired to feed, as well as to that larger and more deliberate body of southern people who see good cause for alarm, and ask only for relief from real grievances. I hold them, and the country will hold both sections, responsible, in their several degrees, for its present troubles.

But, as I have said, this matter of crimination and recrimination is neither valuable nor necessary, under our circumstances; and I pass to the main purpose that induced me to take the floor. Ever since we assembled here, I have heard northern gentlemen say, both publicly and privately, and I have seen the statement day after day in the columns of leading and influential northern journals, that it was against the honor that it was against the dignity, of the northern people to yield anything to the demands of the South, because they were pressed in tones of menace; and that while some extreme southern Representatives declared that they neither asked nor would receive any compromises, the people of other States stood with arms in their hands against the Federal Government. Now, sir, as a fair man, I desire to say, just here, that the movement in some of the southern States—which has grown into the tremendous significance of an approximate severance of the Union and the secession of the States which have gone out of this Confederacy—has none of my sympathy, and no particle of my approval. I have a right to talk of it freely, sir, because I stand here as a southern man; and my State, a southern State, hangs upon the brink of a precipice which we regard as tending only to inevitable ruin, because of the intemperate, the unnecessary action of an extreme southern State, that has chosen to realize her dream of thirty years in this matter of secession.

Mr. HUGHES. I have no objection to my colleague speaking for his own district; but I must dissent, when he undertakes to speak for the State of Maryland, and especially of the district I represent.

Mr. HARRIS, of Maryland. While I yield with pleasure to the interruption of my colleague, and doubt not he speaks what he believes to be the sentiment of his people, I repeat my declaration; and say now, that at this moment, according to my honest, and I believe well-informed, judgment upon the subject, the doctrine of secession can-

not, in the State of Maryland, to-day raise more friends than would make up a corporal's guard. [Great applause in the galleries.] No, sir; and I trust it never will.

Now, Mr. Speaker, if my friend thinks that the secession element is more powerful in the State of Maryland than is that sentiment which I shall endeavor to give expression to, I trust he will be afforded hereafter an opportunity of substantiating his view.

Why do I say, sir, that I have little sympathy with this secession movement? I believe in the first place, Mr. Speaker, that it has no foundation in constitutional right. I believe that no single State in this Confederation has a right, of its own motion, to break up the Federal compact to which all are parties, upon an abstract and forced idea of inherent sovereignty. Sir, as I read the history of my country, these States that have seceded do not draw the just distinction that exists between what I concede to be State rights, and the idea that, because of them, there is the further right of absolute negation, at the will of any single State, of all the authority of the Federal Government. Sir, I might go further, and say that none of the States ever had any sovereignty except as united States. I read, in the early history of the country, that before they were United Colonies, and then United States, they were colonies of the British, the Spanish, and the Dutch, operating under charters to companies or individuals. Georgia was an estate of Governor Oglethorpe. Pennsylvania was the property of William Penn. It was as United Colonies they made the great declaration and maintained it in blood; as such they became States all together, as recognized United States. I glance at this view only in passing, for I do not propose to press it further.

But, sir, I did not mean to talk about the doctrine of secession, and regret that I have been led to do so even thus briefly. I do not admit it as a constitutional right; and I trust, Mr. Speaker, that when that unfortunate moment arrives, as arrive it possibly may, according to the present current of political events, when the Commonwealth of Maryland may feel compelled to assert her rights, I shall hear throughout the length and breadth of that State no talk about "the constitutional right of secession;" but that when her people have made up their mind that the North does not and will not give them such rights as, under the Constitution, they are entitled to demand, they will call the thing that they mean to do *revolution*, and stand upon that; and that they will, when that time does come, *rebel*, I do not for one instant doubt. I like, sir, the homelier phrase for the act; I like the fair, frank word, that, outspoken, tells the whole story without the necessity of hedging it around with constitutional ideas of constitutional rights, and abstract notions of constitutional abstractions. The right of a people to go into a state of revolution is sanctioned alike by nature and by the Constitution; and when any people in this country feel that they are oppressed by intolerable and grievous wrongs, which they cannot otherwise redress, they ought to rise against them; and, so far as my own people are concerned, I know they will promptly do so when that dark day in their history arrives.

Mr. HUGHES. With the permission of my colleague, I would state that I said nothing about the abstract right of secession. I understood my colleague as saying that the people of Maryland were denouncing the seceding States for the course they had pursued. I said nothing upon the subject of the right of secession as being constitutional, or revolutionary, or otherwise. That is a point which I will discuss, and give my own views upon, if ever I have the good fortune to get the floor. I simply meant to say to my friend that, when he undertook to speak for the State of Maryland, denouncing and violently disapproving the conduct of the seceding States, he might speak for his own district; or, at any rate, for the State of Maryland outside of my district. Mr. Speaker, I undertake to say that the people of the district that I represent

here, whatever may be their opinion on the abstract question of secession or revolution, do not use the language of denunciation against the States which have withdrawn from this Union.

Mr. HARRIS, of Maryland. I have been liberal in yielding precious time to my friend; for I do not mean, for an instant, to put him wrong. He misunderstood me; that is all. I use the language of disapproval, which is enough for my purposes. And I dare say that, as between my friend and myself, when he comes to hear all I propose to say, and I have heard his views when he gets that blessed opportunity of the floor, which, I admit, comes to some here like "angel's visits, few and far between;" [laughter,] he may not find any great gulf between us. I say, then, for myself, and to close the matter, that I express my disapprobation of the secession of those States; and I believe that the sentiment of an immense majority of the people of Maryland is entirely against both the doctrine and the practice of secession. [Applause in the galleries.] That, sir, is what I mean to say.

Mr. Speaker, I had remarked, when this interruption occurred, that I had heard from northern gentlemen that they could concede nothing to the extreme South, because its demands were enforced by men who either declined to compromise or were standing in hostility to the General Government. Now, without going into the reasonableness or unreasonableness of that plea, I desire to say to northern men upon this floor to-day, that this argument, whether sound or not, is exclusive in its application to the States that have already assumed such position; and that, just in proportion as northern gentlemen here condemn the action of those States, they ought to be anxious to preserve the remaining southern States of the Union from falling into the same gulf, by the very necessities of the position that the failure of conservative and sufficient action by the Republican side of the House forces upon them.

I stand here as a representative of one of the border States of this Union. I am a southern man, born so, and proud of the nativity. My State is a southern State. Her sympathies of blood, of sentiment, of geographical position; her large possession of slave property, equal at this time to some \$40,000,000; the interests of trade between her commercial emporium and the South amounting in the last year to over a hundred million dollars out of an aggregate trade of \$168,000,000; the great interests of her manufactures, of which \$45,000,000 went last year to the South and the Southwest from the city of Baltimore alone; all these give weight to the southern sentiment of her people, who are also of a warm blood and an active temperament. And yet, sir, Maryland, always national, conservative, and just, has maintained, amidst all these great excitements, an attitude of calmness, of honorable and dignified tranquility, and has, to her best ability, with her whole energy of sentiment, of purpose, and of action, breasted the tide of this secession movement. If you, gentlemen on the northern side of the House, believe that it is in the power of the conservative sentiment of the State much longer to hold her in this condition; if you believe that week after week is to pass over this Congress and nothing in the way of curative legislation is to be given; if you believe that you can sit here and talk and talk about the philosophy of politics and the abstraction of secession and coercion, and that State, one of the most conservative and just and devotedly Union of this whole tier of border States can be held in that poise which, up to this time, she has maintained, I tell you frankly, I tell you earnestly, and I tell you, I believe truly, that you misread the record of the times; and I believe, sir, that this sentiment will apply with equal force to every one of the border slave States of the Union. Why, sir, there is the State of Tennessee trembling to-day upon the verge of secession. In Kentucky, in North Carolina, and in Virginia—great mother of States—

this secession movement is making progress day by day, and hour by hour; and I say to you, in all frankness and in all kindness, it is making that progress, because we have had nothing in the way of healing legislation from our friends of the North. And to-day, while the conservative element that is against secession, is the dominant idea of Maryland, and nine tenths of her people will do anything in honor and give anything in reason to be able to maintain their *status* as one of the confederated States of this great Republic, yet, under the surface of things, there is a slumbering fire that may break out, and that suddenly, and strive to hurry her from her moorings, and sweep her, too, into the current and drift of disunion. I say, then, to you Representatives of the free States, that if you propose to do anything in the way of legislation upon these subjects, let it be of the most conciliatory character; let it rise above the prejudices and dictates of party; let it meet us, I pray you, upon some high, statesmanlike, and satisfactory basis that will keep these border States fast anchored within the circle of the Republic; ay, that will do even more than that; that will so build up and strengthen the conservatism of the people of other States that we will be able, by your liberal legislation, to rectify the whole structure of a now broken Confederacy.

I do not propose—indeed, the time would not permit, for with the interruption of my friend and my own forgetfulness of its passage I am running more rapidly than I thought through my hour—to go into any discussion of the several modes of pacification that have been presented to this House. It is not necessary that I should do so, for gentlemen are fully posted upon the subject themselves, and the propositions are familiar to us all, with their merits and demerits, weakness and strength. The great idea that I desire to present to my friends of the northern States in this House is, that what we want is immediate action upon this subject; we want less of the eloquence of speech, and more of the pertinent eloquence of votes. In the whole tier of these border States, and greatly in my own State, before the rush of events whirls us into greater excitement, we want to know whether the northern representatives in this Congress, who hold the power of this great salvation or this absolute ruin in their own hands, are disposed to do anything, mean to do anything, upon a basis that will be saving and sufficient. I trust that your action will be enlarged in spirit, that it will meet squarely the great trouble; and I pray you let it come soon. One thing in reference to these various propositions is very sure, and that is: that if northern gentlemen upon this floor would only lift themselves above the prejudices of party; above the necessities of party; above the pride of opinion; above their conscious power and achieved success, there is one proposition which, accepted, I believe would not only keep every single border State in the Union, but would bring back those which have gone out. If our northern friends would only accept the proposition submitted by the patriot Senator from Kentucky, [Mr. CRITTENDEN,] their action would be hailed with delight by tens of thousands of their fellow-citizens throughout the free States. If they would only indorse and pass the propositions of that great statesman, they would do infinitely more to strengthen and build up themselves by thus saving their country than they will ever do by any movement resulting in the non-pacification of these troubles, and they would infinitely gratify the honest masses who stand behind them, and whose good sense teaches them that it is nobler to save a country than to stick to a party platform.

Sir, there are points in the history of political parties when sometimes the people get a clearer conception of the difficulties and dangers of their position than the politicians who represent them are willing to accord, and I see indications in various sections of the free States, that the people are beginning to realize the great fact that they are in

peril; that their country is in peril; and that the politicians, whom they have trusted, are not abreast with them in their perception of the fact, or are not bold enough to meet it as they should.

Mr. Speaker, it may be a great thing to preserve political consistency; but my word for it, in the present condition of the country, he who rises above the trammels of politics and party will find that he has achieved a greatness more enduring, infinitely, than he ever could have done within the lower sphere of his partisan operations. Why, sir, as an illustration of the direction which the popular mind of the North is taking, I notice in the newspapers, among other signs, the account of an immense mass meeting of the sons of labor, toiling men, artificers, and mechanics in the machine shops and factories of the city of Philadelphia, who turned out to the number of many thousands, and assembled in Independence square, in spite of the inclement night, in spite of the driving snow storm, in spite of obstacles that would have broken up any ordinary assemblage, to renew their allegiance to the union of the States, and to urge upon you who have the power, to grant, and grant speedily, measures of safety and conciliation. I am glad, also, to see that throughout the free States a returning sense of reason is beginning to evidence itself; a desire, on their part, begins to be manifested to a very general extent, that something shall be done which will quiet and give peace to the country. I rejoice that the State of Rhode Island has led off in the good work of repealing her personal liberty bill, and that other States are following rapidly in her footsteps. And I am especially glad to notice the recent action of the legislature of the loyal State of New Jersey in the support of the propositions of the Kentucky Senator.

Doubt not that, when you have accomplished the return of peace and good will, you will be sustained by the people you represent, and that, instead of holding you to strict account for overstepping the lines of party, they will praise you for showing how nobler you thought it, in the hour of your country's need, to be patriotic rather than partisan.

Let me say further, Mr. Speaker, that no matter to what extent the people of the South who still cling to the Union may deprecate the action of those States which have gone out, it is a fact not to be disguised from the country that, if there is no wholesome and sufficient legislation within a reasonable time, it may be difficult, if not impossible, to prevent the entire disruption of the country upon a geographical line. What my own State will do in such a dreadful emergency, I am not authorized to say. What she will do should all her sister States on the border go out, and the great neighboring and coterminous sovereignty of Virginia, with whom she is so intimately connected decide that the moment has arrived when she too must sunder the old bonds of the Federal Union, and leave her sister States of the North, I will not undertake to say; but I will say, sir, that there will then be presented to the consideration of the people of Maryland by far the greatest question in their national life, the gravest problem of their political history upon which they have ever been called to deliberate. I do not say—I am not authorized to say—what the decision of my State will then be. In solemn convention of her people, that question must be met; but I do know, sir, that the sentiment of that State, while it is strongly for the Union, and while the determination of the people is to stay in the Union so long as it is possible for them to do so in honor, yet, at the same time, I cannot say that, when Virginia has taken her position Maryland may not feel herself also pressed, by the various considerations that will influence her, to join hands with that illustrious sovereignty.

What her ultimate action will be, I repeat, I am not authorized to speak; but I utter the sentiment that occurs to me in connection with her position. She is placed in the

most embarrassing attitude of any State in the Confederacy. With a long line of two hundred miles of frontier bordering upon Pennsylvania; with a line of eighty miles bordering upon Virginia; with her great railroad—in which she has \$20,000,000—running into Virginia—she is surrounded with the greatest embarrassments; and I can only rely upon her wisdom and prudence, and accept her decision as my decision, and her destiny as my destiny. But I pray you to relieve her and her sister States from this perilous embarrassment. You can do it; and if you will act wisely and speedily upon the propositions before the House, you will be able to do it successfully. It would crack the very heartstrings of Maryland to be separated from the Union of the States, the foundation stones of which are cemented with the best blood of her gallant sons, and to which she has always clung with so much loyal devotion and earnest reverence. Spare her, I conjure you, the necessity of even debating a proposition so painful.

I observe, Mr. Speaker, that my hour is nearly out, and I must close, leaving unsaid some things of which I had wished to speak. I have never been able to regard with any favor this idea of a southern confederation, even in its merely economic aspects; and I am not able with any complacency to consider the possibility of my own State being its frontier line. I cannot hope for its permanency, based, as it must be, upon the recognized right of secession, and the consequent ability of any of its component parts at any moment to destroy it. Nor do I desire to see the great mechanical and industrial interests of my State and city subjected to the policy of the cotton States, which are so likely to be its element of controlling power. Free trade and direct taxation do not harmonize with the interests, nor accord with the temper of Maryland; and I have little little faith in it. Born in revolt; cradled in passion; nurtured upon excitement; overriding freedom of opinion; disregarding individual rights; burdened with taxation; environed by fearful perils in the present, and destined to encounter more terrible troubles in the future; based, as its foundation stone, upon the right of any one of its component parts at any moment to secede from the structure, and thus break it up, I regard its promises as delusive, and its results as "Dead Sea fruits, that turn to ashes on the lips;" and to me the "gorgeous palaces and cloud-capped towers" that it presents to the dazzled gaze of the youthful and the ambitious, are as the sun-lit battlements and lengthening vistas of some treacherous mirage, that flees into airy nothing before the straining gaze and the advancing step of the desert traveller. Rather give to me, and to my people, the Government that has been tested by eighty years of successful trial. Let not my ears be greeted with the music of the "Marseillaise," that stirs up no pulse of my American blood. Flaunt not before my eyes the flag of a divided nationality, that rouses no emotion of my American heart; but let me and my people, I pray you, go down to our graves with the consecrated melodies of the nation ringing in our ears, and over us the dome of the Union, glorious with all its constellated stars. [Great applause.]

